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Monday, 11 March 2002, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Bhuckory
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zínser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2002/189)

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The meeting was resumed at 3.40 p.m.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab Group, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are certain that thanks to your experience, outstanding qualities and competence, the work of the Security Council will be crowned with success. I should also like to express my great thanks to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Mexico for having guided the work of the Council so skilfully last month. We should also like to welcome the Foreign Minister of Somalia. We wish as well to express our greatest appreciation to you, Sir, for having convened this meeting of the Council, which affords us an opportunity to take a fresh and close look at the Somali situation, evaluate it and find ways and means to help the Somalis move forward with their national reconciliation process and overcome the obstacles that block the restoration of calm and stability.

In order for peace and security to be restored to Somalia, and thereby to guarantee that it regains its territorial integrity, full sovereignty and political independence, it is essential to help the Transitional National Government to move forward, strengthening its contacts, pursuing the process of national reconciliation and, finally, ensuring national unity. With this in mind, we must avoid foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Somalia, as well as anything that might compromise or hamstring the process. In this connection, we are certain that the Arta conference has provided the foundation for that process of national reconciliation and understanding in Somalia. Indeed, if we depart from the fundamental principles of that process, we will not be able to help Somalia to emerge from the crisis or facilitate a just and comprehensive solution in that country.

In that context, we welcome the 9th Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, held in Khartoum, which considered the issue of national reconciliation in Somalia. That complemented and affirmed the work of the Arta conference. The process of reconciliation is to be pursued in Nairobi in April, with a view to finally restoring peace, security and tranquillity to Somalia.

We hope that the Security Council will continue to convene meetings of this kind and to closely follow developments in Somalia. We call on the Security Council to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Somalia to assess the situation there and to re-examine the situation on the ground. We also support the setting up of monitoring mechanisms for the arms embargo, in particular to monitor compliance with the resolution that established the embargo.

We believe that the League of Arab States should be part of the Committee of Friends on Somalia with a view to helping that country emerge from crisis.

Finally, we would also like to express the hope that Somalia will finally overcome the crisis that has affected it for so long, and that the Transitional National Government will get all the support and assistance that it needs in all areas from the Security Council and from the international community as a whole.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, and the European Free Trade Area country member of the European Economic Area Iceland align themselves with this statement.

I would like begin by welcoming to the Council the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim.

The European Union welcomes today's public debate in the Security Council and the opportunity it provides to assess the situation in Somalia in the light of the Secretary-General's report and to focus our attention, for the second time in less than a week, on the Horn of Africa — a region of particular concern to the European Union.

The future of Somalia depends, first and foremost, on the Somali people themselves. The international community must help the Somalis to turn around the dangerous and unusual situation in Somalia,

which, for more than a decade, has had to manage without governmental structures. Years of civil war, poverty and social disintegration have led to a situation that constitutes a security threat and a potential source of instability and extremism in the region. Investing in peace and in the comprehensive reconstruction of Somalia will contribute to regional security and prevent future conflict.

The European Union underlines the need for a unified approach to the peace process and for greater consistency in its policy towards Somalia so as to achieve a comprehensive and lasting settlement. In this regard, the European Union welcomes with satisfaction the timely resolution adopted on Somalia at the 9th Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), held in Khartoum on 10 and 11 January, and the recommendations contained therein.

The European Union would like to emphasize the need for a firm commitment against terrorism, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). In this context, the European Union attaches special importance to, and welcomes in particular, IGAD's recommendation urging the Transitional National Government and all other de facto authorities and political forces to commit themselves to combat terrorism in all its forms. We note the establishment by the Transitional National Government of an anti-terrorism task force and its stated intention to take further steps in that regard. The Union is currently providing Somalia with assistance in specific areas so as to enable it to meet the requirements of the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

The European Union welcomes the decision on Somalia taken on 14 February by the IGAD Committee of Foreign Ministers to convene, in the second half of April at Nairobi, a national reconciliation conference, to include, without preconditions, the Transitional National Government and all other Somali de facto authorities and political forces. We wish the conference every success and encourage all the Somali parties to participate in it. We also welcome IGAD's call for cooperation among the three front-line States — Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti — which gives us cause for hope that the peace and reconciliation process will gain renewed impetus.

The Somalis themselves are the main participants in the national reconciliation dialogue. The parties must put aside their differences and participate in the IGAD-facilitated dialogue without preconditions and with a genuine resolve to broaden and complete the national reconciliation process that began in Arta so as to make it truly inclusive. We encourage the United Nations to work closely with and provide every assistance to the countries members of IGAD and to the Somali parties in preparing for and participating in that conference.

The European Union emphasizes its readiness to examine ways and means of supporting IGAD's efforts to help the Somalis achieve peace and national reconciliation and to put an end to a situation that is causing great distress and suffering among the civilian population. In this regard, a meeting of the IGAD Partners Forum on Somalia is scheduled to take place in Rome on 11 April.

We call once again on all States and other parties involved to respect the arms embargo established by Security Council resolution 733 (1992). All States, and in particular those of the region, must refrain from any military involvement in Somalia and from taking any other initiative that could seriously infringe on the sovereignty, political independence, unity and prospects for peace of this country. The territory of Somalia should not be used to undermine stability in the region.

The European Union takes note of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, and in particular of the assessment of the security situation carried out by the inter-agency mission dispatched to Somalia. The Secretary-General considers that the current security situation in Mogadishu does not allow for a long-term United Nations presence. The European Union fully shares these security concerns. It is nonetheless absolutely essential that there be active United Nations involvement in the Somali peace process, in the rehabilitation process and in the restoration of peace and stability. We must look at ways in which the United Nations and the international community can contribute to breaking this cycle of insecurity and help create the necessary security conditions in Somalia.

In that regard, we encourage further proposals on post-conflict peace-building activities and institution-building in Somalia, including assistance in the demobilization of militia members and in the training of police personnel, as set out in the Security Council presidential statement of 31 October 2001

(S/PRST/2001/30). We look forward to the establishment of a Committee of Friends of Somalia by the Secretary-General to coordinate efforts and gather support for peace and the reconstruction of the country.

We want to stress that it is necessary to support and promote the role of civil society in the process of national reconciliation and social and economic reconstruction, as well as women's participation in peace-building at all levels. Further attention should be given to the education and training of young people.

All parties in Somalia must fully respect the security and safety of the personnel of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations, and must guarantee their complete freedom of movement and access throughout Somalia. In that regard, it is necessary to reopen the airport and port of Mogadishu to allow for increased humanitarian assistance. It is also important that Somali leaders heed the call of the Secretary-General to welcome and assist in the implementation of humanitarian and socio-economic development projects.

The catastrophic situation of human rights in the country deserves our attention. In particular, steps must be taken to end the widespread impunity for, among other things, arbitrary and summary executions and acts of torture, as well as to improve the human rights of women and the rights of the child. The widespread abominable practice of recruiting children as soldiers still continues. The European Union is deeply concerned at the absence of an effective judicial system.

The humanitarian situation in Somalia, caused by conflict, food insecurity and the current drought, remains a deep concern. In that regard, the European Union stands ready to continue its contribution to the international effort. Where security conditions permit, we are currently providing humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance to local communities, particularly through non-governmental organizations.

Finally, the European Union remains committed to continuing its support for the peace process in Somalia, and in particular to the efforts of IGAD. A lasting solution for Somalia requires the political will of all Somali parties, the constructive role and the support of its immediate neighbours, the full cooperation of other interested countries and active engagement by the wider international community.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his latest report on the situation in Somalia. We also take this opportunity to welcome his decision to appoint Mr. Winston Tubman as his new Representative for Somalia. We wish Mr. Tubman every success in his efforts. We also wish to welcome Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia and wish him success in his efforts.

Allow me here to highlight some specific points that are of importance to Egypt. First, in its presidential statement of 31 October 2001 (S/PRST/2001/30), the Security Council reiterated its support for the outcome of the Arta conference and the establishment of the Transitional National Government. We therefore expect that the efforts the Council will be focused on the completion of the Arta process and the promotion of the national reconciliation process based on it. That should be done by encouraging and urging all Somali factions and groups to join the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in this framework, which we hope will be crowned with success at the reconciliation conference to be held at Nairobi next month. We also hope that the Council will invite all States that have influence on those factions to exercise that influence in a constructive manner so as to guarantee the participation of all Somali parties in the conference and ensure that it is a success.

Secondly, at a time when the efforts aimed at achieving national reconciliation are continuing and when the Transitional National Government is attempting to include as many of the factions as possible in the institutions established by the Arta process, those efforts are still being held hostage by the warlords to their personal interests, as well as by the armed hostilities that periodically erupt in different parts of the country. If the international community is unable to take concrete steps to disarm and demobilize the militia elements whose intransigence obstructs the peace process — especially those in Mogadishu — then we expect the Council, at the very least, to take the initiative to implement its own resolutions by enforcing the arms embargo imposed by resolution 733 (1992) and by establishing a specific mechanism to monitor compliance with the embargo and to guarantee

its enforcement. There is no excuse for the embargo imposed on Somalia to be the sole exception that elicits no interest, when we find the Council so eager to shoulder its responsibilities in enforcing the sanctions regimes it previously imposed on the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone, UNITA in Angola and others.

Thirdly, the delegation of Egypt takes note of the comments of the Secretary-General's report on launching a peace-building mission in Somalia. While we appreciate the reasons and justifications that led the Secretary-General not to recommend deploying the mission to the country at this stage, we affirm that the United Nations must be ready to face the challenges and dangers it may confront in Somalia as it does elsewhere in the regions and countries where United Nations personnel are present. We cannot afford to wait for optimal security conditions to proceed with the deployment of the mission, especially as such reasoning would only lead us into a vicious circle dissipating any real hope of providing security, peace and welfare for the Somali people, who have known nothing but war and poverty for the last decade.

Fourthly, the delegation of Egypt welcomes the approach suggested by the Secretary-General of establishing a committee of friends for Somalia based in Nairobi, with a parallel committee here in New York. While this initiative represents a step in the right direction, it should not be seen as in end in itself. Rather, it should be seen as a point of departure not only for coordinating and harmonizing the various approaches adopted by the relevant States and organizations but also for regaining the central role that the United Nations must play in pushing the peace process in Somalia, promoting national reconciliation and responding to the immediate and long-term needs of Somalia as it attempts to regain its normal place in the international community.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Djibouti. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Let me at the outset congratulate you, Sir, for assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. With your usual open-mindedness and sensitivity to conflict situations before this body, coupled with your vast experience, we are indeed in good, steady hands. May I also express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, for steering the deliberations of the Council last month to a successful conclusion.

May I also extend a warm word of welcome to the new Foreign Minster of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, who is in our midst today. My delegation is very pleased with the appointment of Mr. Winston Tubman as the new head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia. We value his extensive and multifaceted career, which is undoubtedly a rare asset in the understanding and appreciation of the Somali conflict and its ramifications. We congratulate him and wish him well. We also wish to pay a deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. David Stephen, for his sterling performance in the conduct of his duties. We found him a fine, genuine and reliable professional, as well as a good friend.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia highlights several critical issues in the search for a comprehensive peace and stability in Somalia. The report cites the fact that the Security Council had noted that the Arta peace process is the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia.

In the same vein, the European Union, in its statement of last August, exhorted the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and its member States to enhance their efforts towards encouraging the process of reconciliation in Somalia, on the basis of the achievements of the Arta conference so as to assist the Somalis to achieve peace and national reconciliation.

The report also underscores the view that there is a need to bring into line others that opted to stay outside the process. But of great significance is what the report describes as a divergence of views among IGAD member States regarding national reconciliation in Somalia.

From a regional perspective, therefore, the question is whether this divergence is compounding Somalia's woes, further complicating the reconciliation efforts, despite the Somali people's keen desire for peace. Will the countries in the region come to terms with the reality that the Somali people have had sufficient squabbles and divisions of their own for too long that they hardly need to be mired by different regional interests?

The longer and the deeper that instability and insecurity are allowed to fester and persist in Somalia, the greater the risk of engendering warfare in the region. The international community has turned a blind eye to brutality and bloodshed in that country for too long; it is now grappling with the lessons of its past mistakes.

If not brought to an end sooner rather than later, continued instability in Somalia will exacerbate conditions that make the Horn of Africa one of the most impoverished regions in the world. No one doubts, therefore, that Somalia's difficulties have regional dimensions, represent a menace to regional peace and complicate efforts to find a lasting peace in this part of Africa.

My country endured unquantifiable sacrifice in initiating the Somalia National Peace Conference in the first half of 2000, following the historic statement of my President in the General Assembly in 1999. Against the background of unending despair and political paralysis in Somalia, Djibouti sponsored a reconfigured conference favouring the civilian population, which for years suffered violent bloodshed, destruction, neglect and marginalization at the hands of armed groups. The process was designed to be comprehensive, inclusive, transparent, and representative, and therefore not to exclude any individual, group or region nor favour or accord special status to any individual, group or region.

All issues, problems or accommodations were left open for discussion in the conference. No prior conditions were accepted from any of the participants. With the notable exception of some who were apparently threatened by the democratic nature of the process, which was led and driven by the civil society, the overwhelming majority of Somalis attended the conference, which produced the first national framework in a decade.

Djibouti persevered in the face of massive campaigns designed to undermine, destabilize, distort and denigrate the conference. In its statement of 29 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/22), the Council warned these elements "to desist from obstructing and undermining efforts to achieve peace". The Council expressed its readiness to take appropriate steps against those engaged in such activities and urged all States to stop providing these individuals with the means to carry on their destructive activities. In a nutshell, that was the conference, what it was all about and the challenges it faced.

Both in January and February this year, IGAD member countries met to consider extensively the conflict in Somalia. It is hoped that the follow-up conference that will bring together the Government and other parties ranged against it will take place next month in Nairobi. One of the major achievements of these latest IGAD meetings was the recognition that countries in the Horn of Africa, particularly the frontline States, must coordinate their efforts toward national reconciliation in Somalia.

We cannot truly speak of reconciliation in Somalia, however, as long as IGAD member countries are pursuing varying, indeed, opposing goals both with regard to what it takes to achieve peace and reconciliation in Somalia and what the final outcome would look like. Under these circumstances, one wonders whether we are looking for the same kind of Somalia. The clearest testimony yet to the region's contradictory and self-defeating policies regarding Somalia has been the relentless equivocation and systematic negation of the outcome of the Arta process, so that it, too, suffers the same misfortune as the preceding reconciliation efforts. This is a cause of much concern to all those who care about the plight and future destiny of the Somali people.

The Transitional National Government is a fledgling, nascent administration that inherited nothing but chaos, destruction and empty coffers. As such, countries in its own region owed it every bit of compassion and material and moral support with no strings attached.

To a great extent, everything depended on the unambiguous, clear and shared vision of the region. In the absence of a coherent and supportive policy from our own region, however, it was highly unlikely that the donor community, the United Nations and international organizations would become involved in our backyard for reasons other than humanitarian ones. That is precisely what happened before and what has been happening since the establishment of the Transitional National Government.

It is the inaction, rivalry, jealousies, mixed signals and inconsistency of our own region that are seriously hampering the full realization of the gains achieved by the people of Somalia at Arta. If only we, the countries of the region, had put our acts together in

a rational, responsible and reassuring way; if only we had galvanized support and mobilized resources for this worthy cause; if only we had shunned apathy towards the Transitional National Government and rather checked the re-emergence of warlordism, factionalism and secessionist tendencies; if only we had refrained from rhetoric, sabre-rattling and deliberate and provocative threats; if only we had refrained from accentuating the weaknesses of the Transitional National Government; if only we had heeded the passionate cry of the Somali people, we would perhaps be here today addressing Somalia in a totally different context.

Needless to say, the Somali people and its leaders bear full responsibility for reconciling and negotiating an end to the conflict. Equally important, however, no amount of goodwill, support or assistance on the part of the international community can bring about peace in Somalia unless the countries of the region bury their differences and demonstrate the ability to rise above their national interests and to put the interest of the people of Somalia first and foremost.

Such squabbles over Somalia's destiny are taking place with little, if any, criticism from the international community. What is prevailing in the region goes far beyond mere honest differences. It is deeper, divisive and simply unwarranted. It goes to the heart of the matter, negating the will of the Somali people and thus posing a defiant challenge to peace and security in the region. That is why Djibouti is not keen to qualify the conclusions of the Secretary-General in the absence of coherent policy approaches on the part of the countries in the region.

Let us not forget that the decade-long wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone were among the most brutal of modern times. Thanks, however, to the determination, sacrifices and perseverance of the countries members of the Economic Community of West African States, peace was restored. Sierra Leone has turned an important corner, a far cry from the chaos and hopelessness of only a year ago. The contribution of the neighbouring countries has been immense. Without their military support and cohesive policies, the deployment of troops from the United Nations and the United Kingdom could not have been possible. These are good examples of what other regions in Africa have done by coalescing around particular conflict situations to forge a common, united position and approach to corrective action. We are also well aware of the series of ministerial delegations that have visited the United Nations over the years to take part in debates and to lobby for international support in such conflict situations as those in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone or the Central African Republic, to name just a few.

The day we see a similar demonstration of commitment from the countries of IGAD, peace will dawn in Somalia. Let us hope this will happen, and that it will happen sooner rather than later.

Throughout this tragedy, admiration must be expressed for the valiant humanitarian efforts and genuine concern exhibited by the United Nations agencies and volunteer non-governmental organizations. Without these efforts, it would be difficult to comprehend the condition of the people of Somalia. We certainly join with the Secretary-General in recognizing the exemplary work they have performed, often at great personal risk and sacrifice. They are doing all they can in the wake of failing interest and support. One individual who stands out in objectively and courageously highlighting the humanitarian situation in Somalia is Mr. Randolph Kent, the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Somalia based in Nairobi. He has been the real advocate for Somalia. He recently said:

> "Somalia is a country in transition. The strength of a society is never put to a greater test than when it is confronted with the task of recreating itself."

Finally, Djibouti believes that the time has come for the Horn of Africa region to accept responsibility for the lack of resolution in the Somali conflict. This conflict has been with us for too long. It is unsustainable; it is untenable. There remains an opportunity to harmonize our actions, minimize our differences and show care and compassion for the dire situation of the people. If we fail in this, history will not judge countries of the region too kindly nor will the Somali people forgive us for not rallying around the only entity, the Transitional National Government, that symbolizes their determination, sacrifices and compromises. Somalia needs extensive repair work in human, material and moral terms. It hardly needs any interference or divisiveness; rather, it seeks cooperation, help, understanding and nation-building. For the international community, it is perhaps

appropriate to quote Nicholas Kristof, who, writing in his column in *The New York Times* on 5 February 2002, opined:

> "It is not even necessary to wrestle with the humanitarian argument for helping tottering countries. A number of countries, including Somalia, demonstrate the realpolitik merit of solving messes as they happen: If we leave countries to rot, eventually the rot spreads and comes back to infect us."

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Undoubtedly, the decision to convene this meeting as an open meeting was appropriate and timely, as it has enabled the international community, on whose behalf the Security Council acts, to see and hear the Council working openly, not behind closed doors, a format that is in contravention of the admittedly provisional rules of procedure. That, however, is an issue that we might take up in a different context at another time.

At the outset, allow me to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia and to wish him every success in his mission to the Security Council. This is his first personal visit following the formation of the Transitional National Government in his country.

In considering the Secretary-General's report, we note that it undertakes a comprehensive review of various issues and warns of many problems. The conclusions reached in the report, however, do not actually follow from the comprehensive review. For example, in paragraph 35, the report states that "The humanitarian situation in Somalia remains grave." Then, in paragraph 41, it refers to a complex challenge in the humanitarian sphere resulting from the security situation in the country. The report also states that the continuing situation in Somalia might turn the country into a haven for terrorists or a launching pad for terrorist organizations. It also reminds us, in paragraph 61, that "The Security Council has noted that the Arta peace process is the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia."

What has Arta produced? It has produced the Transitional National Government. Obviously, it follows that if the Arta process is the most viable basis, it must be built upon in order to complete the peace process and achieve national reconciliation in Somalia.

What, then, has been done by the Security Council, the ultimate body responsible for international peace and security? In fact, it disturbs us Africans that there are double standards in the work of the Security Council. When the issue concerns another continent, the Council even calls meetings on weekends. For example, when the issue is East Timor, the Security Council has met on a weekend. Many other issues receive the same treatment. Decisions are made and there is much ado; implementation is monitored daily, if not hourly. That is not the case with the situation in Africa, and we wonder why. Is Africa not a part of the United Nations? The Group of African States comprises 52 States, almost one third of the Organization's membership. Is it not enough for that continent to have endured such a long period of colonialism, with not only its natural resources but also its human wealth pillaged for centuries?

To those who say that the Organization's greatest expenditure is on peacekeeping operations in Africa, I would reply that three quarters of the Security Council's activities pertain to Africa. Three quarters of the Council's agenda, as stated by previous and current Council members, is devoted to Africa.

In order for Somalia to find stability, the Arta basis must be built upon. It would be illogical to say that we ought to leave it to the Somalis themselves. The people of Somalia, or at least some of them, are responsible for the situation in Somalia as it stands today. How can we expect the warlords, who lined their pockets as the result of wars, to relinquish benefits that they are convinced will continue as long as the current situation lasts? With peace, stability, a unified land and people and a strong central authority in Somalia, they will lose all of what they see as the benefits of the current situation.

The international community must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Transitional National Government, truly chosen by the majority of the people of Somalia. There is no alternative. The Security Council cannot remain neutral. Neutrality only strengthens the hand of the warlords or sends them an indirect message that the Security Council does not really care and that they may continue their warring activities in the country.

The shortest route to regaining stability in Somalia is to support the Transitional National Government and enable it to exert and extend its authority throughout Somalia. Ultimately, it is indeed transitional: it is not a permanent Government. When the transitional period ends, the people of Somalia will be able to elect their representatives and their legitimate Government at the ballot box. Unless we support the Transitional National Government through decisions and resolutions of the Security Council, how can we expect stability to return to Somalia?

The Security Council's situation reminds me of one man asking another, "Where is your ear?" and the other replying, "There it is", forgetting the closer of his two ears. The Security Council is doing the same thing: it is looking for a way, but one that is a dead end. The shortest and least costly way to restore stability to the Somali people is before the Council. As I said during the Council's meeting on the situation in Africa, my country had done its utmost, in cooperation with our brothers in Somalia, even before the Transitional National Government was formed. We summoned all the factions, and they met for the first time in Libya. We supported our brothers in Djibouti. We are now supporting the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the neighbouring countries, because we are confident that our brothers in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya have a major role to play in restoring stability in Somalia. We are confident that they will spare no effort in achieving that goal. Stability in Somalia means stability for them. Instability in Somalia also means instability in neighbouring countries. Libya has given much and will continue to do so. During President Hassan's recent visit to Libya, agreement was reached that Libya would provide the funds necessary for the Transitional National Government to buy back weapons from the people. I hope that those weapons will be burned, just as they were burned after being collected in Sierra Leone.

As I mentioned earlier, Libya has set aside $7.5 million, through our foreign exchange bank, in agreement with our brothers in Mogadishu. We have also provided assistance of various kinds, including vehicles. We have helped to train police officers, and provided them with uniforms. We have assisted in the operation and expansion of power-generation plants. We have also lent assistance in the fisheries sector; we have had a longstanding policy on the import of livestock from Somalia following that country's independence; and we have also been cooperating actively in the area of agriculture.

A Sahelo-Saharan States conference was held in my country in which 18 countries participated, including Somalia, which is part of that subregional group. Indeed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs came here directly from that meeting in Tripoli.

The Conference expressed its support for the Transitional National Government in its efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the State of Somalia. An appeal was made to the international community as a whole, to the United Nations and to African groups in particular to pool their efforts to promote dialogue aimed at reconciliation in Somalia and durable peace in the country.

I have transmitted to the Council today the resolutions of the conference. We hope that they will be issued as a document of the Security Council, whether relating to Somalia or to other regional issues.

Let me conclude by saying that I was truly delighted to hear the statements made by many members of the Security Council. For example, those by Singapore, Syria and France were more than encouraging and very important. Even if only a portion of those statements is implemented and followed up, the Security Council will have taken a first step on the right track as far as Somalia is concerned.

We hope that we will not find ourselves compelled to express our bitterness anew vis-à-vis the use of double standards. We Africans are very sensitive to this issue.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya): I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this extremely important meeting. It is indeed an honour for Kenya to be accorded the opportunity to address the Security Council. My delegation is therefore delighted to welcome the new Foreign Minister, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, in our midst here today.

Kenya welcomes the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. The report highlights recent political developments; regional and other peace initiatives; activities by the

Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Somalia, Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun; the humanitarian situation; other activities in support of the peace process; and post-conflict peace-building mechanisms in Somalia.

Kenya has been charged by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) with the responsibility to coordinate efforts towards reconciliation in Somalia. The report of the Secretary-General covers the efforts expended towards this end in its section II, part B, under the title "Regional and other initiatives". My delegation fully associates itself with the highlights of the report, especially paragraphs 14 to 18.

In the debate on the situation in Africa held in this Chamber on 30 January, I gave an update on the efforts of IGAD in the quest for peace in Somalia which tallies with the report before us. I will therefore not bore the Council by reiterating aspects of those efforts which have been adequately covered.

I would like, however, to re-emphasize that on 25 December 2001, three separate agreements were signed in Nairobi, between the Transitional National Government on the one hand and the United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Alliance (USC/SSA), the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) and the Somali National Alliance (SNA) on the other. Those agreements are a positive indication that IGAD's efforts in the search for peace and reconciliation in Somalia are continuing to gather momentum.

As mandated by the 9th IGAD Summit, held in Khartoum in January, the IGAD Foreign Ministers Committee on Somalia met in Nairobi on 14 February and agreed to convene a National Reconciliation Conference in the second half of April this year, in furtherance of the Arta process. All parties to the conflict are expected to attend without preconditions, and we appeal to the Council to lend its total and undivided support.

In the course of efforts to ensure full participation in the April meeting, Kenya has been informed that a meeting of the SRRC was held in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, from 27 February to 1 March 2002. It is hoped that all future meetings of this nature will be guided by the IGAD Foreign Ministers Committee and its Technical Committee.

In paragraph 61 of his report, the Secretary-General notes that he has detected a divergence of views among the member States of IGAD regarding national reconciliation in Somalia. While this might have appeared to be the case in the past, Kenya, as coordinator, wishes to assure the Council that a lot of progress has been made since the 9th IGAD Summit and that increasingly we are witnessing a convergence, rather than a divergence, of views.

To facilitate the achievement of faster progress, the IGAD Foreign Ministers have established a Technical Committee comprising front-line States and the IGAD secretariat, with a secretariat in Nairobi to be staffed on a permanent basis. That office needs the Council's support.

IGAD member States welcome the proposal of the Secretary-General to establish a Committee of Friends of Somalia, to be based in Nairobi and chaired by his Representative, as well as the setting up of a similar Committee in New York to meet periodically under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary-General. In total, it is evident that the focus on Somalia has been heightened, and it is up to the people of Somalia to demonstrate maturity and take advantage of the current good will.

Kenya, as a neighbour of Somalia, will continue to discharge her fraternal duty to assist Somalia. Indeed, Kenya has no doubt that, as charged by IGAD, all involved parties — the regional group, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations, the IGAD Partners Forum and the Committee of Friends — will go an extra mile to assist Somalia in the current peace process, humanitarian assistance and the improvement of general security.

Finally, Kenya has no doubt that the neighbours and friends of Somalia will play an impartial and constructive role in efforts to end the longstanding problem of the lack of a central administration in Somalia for the last 10 years and its attendant dangers for the region and the international community.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tessema (Ethiopia): I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council

for the month of March. We welcome this opportunity to exchange information and views with Council members in particular, and the international community at large on the effort to bring lasting peace to Somalia.

I would also like to join those who spoke before me in welcoming Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia, who is here among us. I would also like to welcome and recognize Mr. Winston Tubman, the newly appointed Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, and wish him great success. I want to take this opportunity to assure Mr. Tubman of the full cooperation of my Government in discharging his very heavy responsibility.

Ethiopia commends the Secretary-General for his report on the security situation in Somalia and for his tireless efforts towards and support for peace in Somalia. We welcome the observations and the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the overall situation in that country and on the peace process.

The situation in Somalia needs a comprehensive approach. The establishment of a broad-based Government in Somalia as urgently as possible is not only in the interest of the Somalis themselves but also in the vital interest of the countries of the subregion, and that of the international community as a whole.

The IGAD peace process adopted at the 9th Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Summit of the Heads of State and Government on Somalia on 11 January 2002, and further elaborated by the communiqué issued following the IGAD Foreign Ministers committee meeting on Somalia on 14 February 2002, has this basic purpose and plan at its very centre. We believe the consensus achieved by the IGAD countries has laid the basis for coordination among the IGAD countries for peace in Somalia and for harmonizing their position to this end. We strongly hope that this encouraging and positive step by the IGAD countries to bring about lasting peace in Somalia will enjoy the full support and cooperation of the Security Council in particular and the international community in general.

Ethiopia hopes that the combined readiness of the IGAD countries and the international community to make a real difference for peace and the establishment of a broad-based Government in Somalia is bound to lead to a breakthrough and bear fruit. We do not see or have any other option to this end. We have proved for the last 11 years that various efforts, including the Arta process, have failed to achieve peace and to establish an all-inclusive and broad-based Government in Somalia.

Throughout these past 11 years, what various peace efforts in Somalia had to contend with was a structural logjam in the country created by those who have a stake in the status quo and who benefited from the state of anarchy and from the statelessness of Somalis. This structural logjam in peacemaking in Somalia, which external actors were unable and unwilling to remove, must come to an end. We believe Somalis have no other option but peace and an end to a decade of anarchy. As stated by the press release issued by the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) at the end of its meeting held in the city of Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, on 1 March 2002, in which they agreed to participate in the upcoming meeting,

> "There is no other option for all Somali parties than to commit themselves to fighting terrorism and establishing a broad-based and viable government for Somalia."

In view of this, as adopted by the 9th IGAD Head of State and Government Summit in Khartoum, we call upon all Somali parties and groups to participate in the forthcoming IGAD Foreign Ministers committee meeting in Nairobi on the basis of equality and without any preconditions for solving the crisis in Somalia. Ethiopia is fully committed to support such an outcome, which will work towards the establishment of an all-inclusive and broad-based Government for Somalia. Ethiopia strongly calls upon all concerned States in the subregion and those outside the subregion to contribute constructively to the peace efforts in Somalia. We once again appeal to this Council to continue its support and to encourage the regional peace process being under taken by IGAD.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Norway.

First of all, I would like to express Norway's support for the Arta peace process, which continues to be the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. The objective of the Arta process, however, has not yet been fully achieved. Norway urges the Transitional National Government, other de facto authorities, as well as all political and

traditional leaders in Somalia, to continuously make every effort to complete, without preconditions, the peace and reconciliation process. This should be done through dialogue and involvement of all parties in a spirit of mutual accommodation and tolerance, with a view to establishing an all-inclusive Government in Somalia, based on devolution of power.

Norway is encouraged by the attention and importance that the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) heads of State gave to the need for national reconciliation in Somalia at the Khartoum summit in January this year. We fully support the decision taken by the IGAD Foreign Ministers committee on Somalia to convene a national reconciliation conference in the second half of April this year. We believe that this new and constructive joint involvement by Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya might be a significant step forward towards rehabilitation and restoration of peace and stability in Somalia.

Despite this cautious optimism, I must say that Norway is deeply concerned about the recent fighting in Mogadishu and in the Gedo region. These acts of violence are serious obstacles to the peace process in Somalia. It is in this context of vital importance that all States and other actors comply scrupulously with the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992). Revitalizing the arms embargo through the establishment of a monitoring mechanism should be a priority to this end.

Norway is deeply concerned about the humanitarian situation in Somalia, in particular in the Gedo and Bari regions. I would like in particular to draw attention to the urgent need for international assistance in covering food and water shortfalls, and to further underline the fact that longer-term intervention will be required to build sustainable solutions.

Norway notes with satisfaction that the United Nations, the Red Cross and the Red Crescent movements, as well as other non-governmental organizations, continue to provide humanitarian and development assistance to all areas of Somalia. We call upon all parties in Somalia to respect fully the security and safety of the personnel of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations, and to guarantee their complete freedom of movement and access throughout Somalia.

Support from the international community to contribute to improving the economic, humanitarian, political and security situation in Somalia is of the utmost importance. This will not only benefit the people of Somalia, but will also contribute to peaceful development at the regional level in the Horn of Africa and reinforce the global effort to counter international terrorism.

I would like to take this opportunity to encourage all Member States to respond urgently and generously to the United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for 2002.

While acknowledging the conclusions of the recent security assessment, and thus recognizing that a peace-building mission for Somalia cannot yet be launched, Norway encourages the Secretary-General to make greater efforts to ensure that the peace dividend aspect of targeted assistance is fully exploited. The further expansion of United Nations programmes, through humanitarian and development projects, as well as specific peace-building activities, should be a priority.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia.

Mr. Ibrahim (Somalia): I would like to express my thanks to the members of the Security Council for their useful input in today's debate. I also thank the non-Council members for their statements and their contributions to the debate.

On the issue of the forthcoming peace and reconciliation conference in Nairobi, we are of the opinion that we should not prejudge the outcome in a negative way. The Somali issue should be viewed in a holistic manner. The Security Council should take a unified position of support for the forthcoming Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) process.

With regard to the security position in Somalia, a multiple-track approach would, in our opinion, be the most appropriate track, providing the Transitional National Government with the necessary resources and tools, first, to enhance security in Mogadishu and other areas in Somalia; secondly, to ensure the strict enforcement of the sanctions regime regarding the

illegal influx of weapons and arms; thirdly, to sustain a continuous contribution to the campaign against terrorism; and fourthly, to sustain support for the IGAD-sponsored peace process and send a very strong signal to the warlords that their failure to contribute positively to the peace process will result in punitive measures against them.

We believe that the Security Council and the international community must be forward-looking and start thinking about putting in place a massive rehabilitation and reconstruction programme for Somalia.

I want to reiterate that, for our part, the Transitional National Government will seriously pursue peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. We pledge to continue to fully cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and bilaterally in combating terrorism.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.